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Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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R 231036Z FEB 76
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6086
INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 1149

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, PFOR, US, PO
SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRE

REF: (A) STATE 037591, (B) LISBON 623, (C) USMISSION NATO 5165,
(D) LISBON 487 (NOTAL)

1. REF A REQUESTS AN ANALYSIS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PORTUGAL'S MULTILATERAL POLICIES. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO THE SUB-SECTIONS OF REF A, PARA 7.

(A) INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES: PORTUGAL'S MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES RELATED OVERWHELMINGLY TO THE GOP'S DESIRE TO COMPLETE ITS DECOLONIALIZATION PROGRAM AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE. THE ENDING OF THE PROLONGED WARS AGAINST INDIGENOUS INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS AND RAPID DECOLONIALIZATION WERE AMONG THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVES OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT WHICH OVERTHREW THE AUTHORITARIAN CAETANO GOVERNMENT IN APRIL 1974. MOZAMBIQUE, CAPE VERDE, SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE, AND GUINEA-BISSAU HAVE COMPLETED THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE WITH VARYING DEGREES OF SUCCESS. THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA NEEDS NO FURTHER EXPOSITION HERE.

-- THE DECOLONIALIZATION OF PORTUGUESE TIMOR IS APPARENTLY

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REACHING A DE FACTO SOLUTION COMPLICATED FROM THE PORTUGUESE

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POINT OF VIEW PRIMARILY BY THE CONTINUING DETENTION OF APPROXI-
MATELY 23 PORTUGUESE MILITARY PERSONNEL AS PRISONERS BY THE
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. REF B IS THE MOST RECENT OF SEVERAL
MESSAGES CONVEYING THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT'S DISAPPOINTMENT
THAT THE USG HAS BEEN UNABLE TO USE GOOD OFFICES TO OBTAIN THE
RELEASE OF THESE PRISONERS AS REQUESTED BY THE GOP.

(B) INFLUENCE OF THIRD COUNTRIES ON PORTUGAL'S MULTILATERAL
POLICIES: FOREIGN MINISTER MELO ANTUNES IS INTERESTED IN
EXPANDING THE GOP'S TIES WITH THE THIRD WORLD AND EASTERN
EUROPE IN AN EFFORT TO CREATE MORE OPTIONS FOR PORTUGUESE DIPLO-
MACY, RESPOND TO INTERNAL PRESSURE FROM THE LEFT, AND FIND
DIVERSIFIED MARKETS FOR PORTUGUESE TRADE.
PORTUGAL'S RECENT UN AND INTERNATIONAL ORGINIZATION BEHAVIOR
HAS BEEN MARKED BY A HIGH DEGREE OF ATTENTION TO THE POSITIONS
OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS. (THE POSITIONS ADOPTED BY AUSTRIA
AND SWEDEN ARE PARTICULARLY NOTED BY PORTUGAL.) DUE TO THE
POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF MANY OF THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS,
PORTUGAL HAS FREQUENTLY VOTED IN OPPOSITION TO THE UNITED
STATES. THE SIXTH GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT MORE RECEPTIVE
TO RECENT USG REPRESENTATIONS IN THIS REGARD.

-- IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT AND ARMED
FORCES HAVE REAFFIRMED PORTUGAL'S NATO LINKS, BUT HAVE BEEN
PLACED IN AWKWARD POSITIONS BY INTERMITTENT NATO LIMITATIONS
ON PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED MATERIAL (REF C).

-- OTHER THAN THE MATTERS MENTIONED HERE, EMBASSY IS NOT AWARE
OF ANY CASES WHERE GOP IS CURRENTLY TRYING TO INFLUENCE THE
POLICIES OF THIRD COUNTRIES.

(C) DEGREE OF GOP CONTROL OVER ITS DELEGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS: GOP ALLOWS ITS UN AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZA-
TION DELEGATIONS A LARGE DEGREE OF LATITUDE AND PRODUCES
STAFF STUDIES ON ONLY THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES. THE PORTUGUESE
VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE UN RESOLUTION DECLARING ZIONISM A FORM OF
RACISM, FOR EXAMPLE, WAS MADE WITHOUT REFERENCE TO STAFF SUPPORT
OR INTRA-GOVERNMENT COORDINATION BY THE PORTUGUESE UN DELEGA-
TION, PROBABLY AFTER DIRECT CONSULTATION WITH THE FOREIGN MIN-
ISTER. THE LATTER DID NOT CONSULT THE PM OR THE COUNCIL OF
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MINISTERS. HOWEVER, ON MOST OF THE IMPORTANT ISSUES COMING
BEFORE THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE DELEGATION'S REPORTING
IS ADEQUATE TO MAKE INSTRUCTIONS FROM LISBON TIMELY AND
REALISTIC.

-- INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS OTHER THAN THE UNITED NATIONS:
EXCEPT IN THOSE COSES WHERE THE GOP HAS DIRECT AND IMPORTANT
INTERESTS AT STAKE, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS NEITHER THE

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STAFF NOR THE ABILITY TO RETAIN EFFECTIVE DAY-TO-DAY CONTROL
OF ITS DELEGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES.

(D) INDEPENDENCE OF DELEGATIONS: PORTUGUESE PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVES OR HEADS OF DELEGATIONS NORMALLY DO NOT HAVE
INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POWER WHICH WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR
THE GOP TO CONTROL AND INSTRUCT THEM. THE PROBLEM LIES MORE
WITH THE LACK OF COORDINATION BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY
AND THE DELEGATIONS, AND WITH THE DEGREE OF LATITUDE NORMALLY
ALLOWED THE DELEGATIONS.

(E) RECEPTIVITY TO US REPRESENTATIONS: IT IS
DIFFICULT TO OVERESTIMATE THE PRIDE OF THE PORTUGUESE. THE
CURRENTLY ACCEPTED POLITICAL LITANY PLACES A HIGH DEGREE OF
EMPHASIS UPON "NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE," PARTICULARLY WHEN THE
GOVERNMENT FEELS THAT IT IS BEING PRESSURED TO ADOPT A
PARTICULAR POLICY BY ONE OR MORE LARGER AND MORE POWERFUL
COUNTRIES. REFERENCE D REPORTS A RECENT EXPRESSION OF SUCH
SENSITIVITY IN THIS CASE WITH REFERENCE TO THE AZORES.

-- HOWEVER, WHERE THE U.S. HAS A CLEARLY EVIDENT INTEREST, THE
GOP IS MODERATELY RECEPTIVE TO US REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTI-
LATERAL ISSUES. THE RECENT POLICY OF MAKING REPRESENTATIONS
ONLY ON SELECTED ISSUES OF PARAMOUNT INTEREST TO THE US HAS
INCREASED THE ACCEPTABILITY OF OUR REPRESENTATIONS.

-- THE GOP ONLY OCCASIONALLY REQUESTS US SUPPORT FOR MATTERS
OF INTEREST TO IT IN MULTILATERAL RELATIONS. IN VIEW OF OUR
FREQUENT REQUESTS FOR GOP SUPPORT, THE EMBASSY BELIEVES
THESE INFREQUENT REQUESTS SHOULD BE GIVEN CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.
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